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Mr José Ramos-Horta
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Dear José

Many thanks indeed for your letter of 18 August which was waiting for me when I got back from my trip to Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia. It was a very useful visit and I was able to spend some time at the Kampuchean refugee camps on the Thai/Cambodian border which were quite shocking in the hopelessness of the local populations. This week we are holding our press conference on Kampuchea in London and I will try and send you some cuttings about this as and when they become available. We have managed to get twelve Nobel Laureates to sign, including Desmond Tutu, William Golding and Elie Wiesel.

I was pleased to see that your efforts in Cyprus paid off and Indonesia once again failed to win the NAM chairmanship. I will be interested to see what the repercussions are in Indonesia because, when I was there earlier this month, there were numerous articles in the local press pushing Indonesia's candidacy and extolling its qualifications for the leadership of the NAM movement! As you probably know, there is a burgeoning rift between the civilian politicians (who want East Timor opened up in order to improve Indonesia's image abroad) and the military hard-liners like Murdani, who are concerned about the security situation and are reluctant to see the military role in East Timor undermined. I will enclose with this letter a copy of a briefing paper I have recently written on the repercussions of the Indonesian diplomatic failure in Cyprus on domestic politics. You may find it of interest. My impressions are that an enormous amount of frustration is building up in Indonesia and the East Timor issue is being seen as something of a test case in the struggle between the "liberals" like Alatas and the hard men of the military right. I suspect that the Cyprus failure will be taken hard and Murdani's position will be further weakened. What this means for East Timor I cannot predict. If the territory is "opened up" to easier access from other parts of Indonesia, won't that make matters worse for the domestic economy and the unemployment rates? Already, even with the limited amount of transmigration and commercial inflow from other parts of Indonesia (in particular, the large numbers of Bugis middle-men who have now settled in Dili), the situation for the indigenous inhabitants has become much worse. I remember you talking about the "marginalisation".

+ Catholic magia in Indonesian army.

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of East Timorese in Dili, and presumably the same development is taking place in other parts of the territory, particularly in the larger market towns like Remexio and Ermera? Anyway, I will look forward to having your comments on this. I would not be surprised if there is some political show-down in Indonesia in the next couple of years especially now that the bottom seems to have fallen out of the oil market. (See my piece of 20 Sep.

Ian Glover phoned yesterday and said that he was going out to Lisbon for a conference on East Timor (organised by the Ethnographic Museum in Lisbon) and he said he was keen to meet you. I believe that he will be in Lisbon from the 11 to 20 October, so perhaps you may be able to see him when you get back from Australia. I do hope so. It is very good news that the Portuguese edition of your book is coming out so soon. Please send me a copy of it when it is available. I enclose herewith some photographs taken on the last day you were in Oxford and also a brief report from John MacDougall's Indonesia News Service about the series of articles which are being published by Jayakarta on the impressions of Indonesian journalists who covered the East Timor War. I thought the rather garbled conversation you were supposed to have had with Harry Kawilarang might amuse you. I presume that he was one of the journalists assigned to escort you during your visit to Jakarta in June 1974 when you met Malik and Moertopo?

I think this is all for the time being. All the family are well. William has just started at his new school as a weekly boarder and appears to be very happy. I am hoping to take the whole family back to Indonesia next year during my six-month sabbatical. I will keep in touch and let you know how things develop. In the meantime, do look us up when you are next in England. I gather from Ian that you may be in London soon in connection with the upgrading of the Mozambique Mission here. If so do let me know.

All best wishes, + love to you from the family

Yours

Peter

~~(Dr) Peter Carey~~